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The schools serving depressed areas are finding it increasingly difficult to retain the teachers and to attract trained teachers to fill increasing numbers of vacancies. Socio-economic, ethnic, cultural, and educational factors which contribute to disadvantagement are compounded when met with the objective screening measures for college entrance. The available avenue for upper social mobility through higher education for the lower socio-economic, disadvantaged groups has not been operating effectively.

The beginning of a program in an urban institution is presented. The attempt was made to discover ways to train teachers for urban service to bring the school's resources to bear on the problems of urban teaching and the needs of disadvantaged neglected urban youngsters. At the pre-service level two programs were introduced--community experience and student teaching--following the principles that the in-service teacher learn to understand his pupils and that the curriculum communicate with and be pertinent to the learner. Culturally fair tests should be developed to evaluate the mental ability of various ethnic groups, particularly those in the lower socio-economic levels.

The three areas most in need of attention are: teacher training, school curriculum, and student ability appraisal.

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TEACHERS AND RESOURCES FOR URBAN EDUCATION

An Urban University Meets a Challenge

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Hunter College is a unit of the City University of New York. Along with its sister senior colleges, Brooklyn, City, and Queens College, one of its major commitments is the preparation of elementary and secondary school teachers. Each year, the senior colleges of City University add more than two thousand newly trained teachers to the profession. It is safe to say that a considerable majority of the New York City teaching force is a product of the teacher training programs of City University. If it is true, then, that the schools in the rapidly growing disadvantaged areas of the inner city are plagued with a diminishing regular teaching force and a growing proportion of temporary, "emergency", incompletely trained, itinerant teachers, and if it is true that the schools serving our depressed areas find it increasingly difficult to hold the teachers they do have and to attract trained teachers to their increasing numbers of vacancies, then the teacher education units of City University bear a distinct responsibility to do something about it, even if the blame for these conditions cannot fairly be laid to their doors alone.

The problem has another and more fundamental and crucial dimension. The undergraduate programs of City University are one of the few oases of tuition-free higher education left in the United States As such, they should be a primary agency for securing upper mobility among the lower socio-economic populations of the City. Indeed, without the New York City municipal colleges many of the leaders in the professions, the arts, and in public life could never have realized their potential to themselves and to society. However, annual surveys made of the socio-economic and ethnic characteristics of the entering student classes to the four senior units of City University lead to the inescapable conclusion that the student population is increasingly much more representative of the middle-classes, the white collar and professional classes, the ethnic groups that do not live in the older, inner, and disadvantaged neighborhoods of our city. Why is this so? As public institutions, with many more applicants each year that can be accommodated, the City Colleges use a combination of high school average and scores in college entrance examinations as the sole means of admission. As a result, those socio-economic, ethnic, cultural, and educational factors which contribute to the low state of the disadvantaged are compounded when it comes to meeting these objective screening measures for college entrance. We are faced, therefore, with a social problem of major magnitude. The one significant available avenue of upper social mobility through higher education for the lower socio-economic, disadvantaged groups of our population is no longer fulfilling this function in any proportion adequate to the need. The consequences are frightening to contemplate; the creation of a permanently depressed lower class in our city of the kind that has plagued our European counterparts for the last two centuries, and that is without doubt the one social characteristic most contrary to what is best in United States social morality.

The problem is not a simple one. It has inevitable political, economic, and social overtones, but to the extent that it is educational, the City University of New York bears inescapable responsibility to find ways that will help toward its solution, particularly in the realm that is one of its major responsibilities, the preparation of teachers.

A parenthetical observation is in order here. Traditionally, the profession of teaching has been a major avenue for upward social mobility of the lower socio-economic classes. In New York City, the generation of teachers of the 1920's and 30's were largely products of first generation European immigration. The children of these teachers, now the products of middle-class families, do not in the same proportion as their parents enter the profession of teaching. The children of such teachers do not as a rule become teachers; instead they seek professions in the higher rungs of upper mobility. Unless the pattern is changed, and sufficient numbers of presently lower groups can enter college, and ultimately the profession of teaching, we will be faced with a teacher shortage in the next generations that will make the post World War II shortage seem like an oasis of plenitude.

What is the answer? The account that follows describes the beginnings of a program in one urban institution that seeks to find ways to train teachers for urban service, and at the same time to bring its resources to bear on the problem of finding ways to better gear the teaching of our urban school system to the needs and potentialities of lower socio-economic, disadvantaged, and hitherto neglected levels of our urban society.

In order to provide an operational focus to the problem, it is seen in three distinct, but closely interrelated dimensions: 1) the program of teacher education, both pre- and in-service; 2) the curriculum and the practices of the urban elementary and secondary schools; and 3) the proper identification and appraisal of potential talent among children and adolescents of disadvantaged social and ethnic classes in the urban population.

For the last decade, all four senior units of City University have introduced features into their program of teacher education designed to prepare teachers better for urban service. At the pre-service level, two programs were introduced, community experience and divided student teaching. The community experience program assigned every student enrolled in a given required course in educational psychology to concurrent service in a settlement house or equivalent social and community agency as a volunteer group worker. /This program has the dual purpose of giving the student direct contact with children and adolescents at the same time that he is studying about their development, and of giving him direct experience with the type of student he will most likely be teaching several years hence./ In the divided student teaching program, student teachers are assigned in teams of two to two contrasting schools, one serving a disadvantaged area, and another a more

favored area. During the middle of the semester the students shift assignments with the end result that each student teacher has had experience with a broad range of types of students. In the in-service, or graduate program for teachers, each college has developed a variety of course, seminar, and workshop offerings geared to the specific demands of urban teaching. For example, two of our units, Hunter and Brooklyn Colleges, have developed special programs for teachers of children of Puerto Rican origin, with courses in the culture of Puerto Rico, the problems of acculturation of Puerto Ricans to the urban mainland, conversational Spanish, the teaching of English as a second language, and the curriculum adaptations needed to satisfy the needs of Puerto Rican immigrants. There is no doubt that each of these efforts contributed some help to the basic problem. The community experience program and the divided student teaching service helped to remove some of the unfamiliarity and consequent fears of future teachers with largely alien populations; increasing numbers accepted the inevitable appointment to so-called "special service" schools (which in New York City parlance means "slum" schools), with less fear and some degree of confidence. Principals in these schools had the opportunity to help convince future teaching recruits that service in a slum school wasn't so bad after all and indeed had certain satisfactions of fulfilled idealism that the suburbs might find more difficult to offer. Programs like the Puerto Rican in-service courses helped teachers in such schools to communicate better with an ethnic population of considerable native charm and largely unproved and undeveloped intellectual potentiality. Well-conceived and successful though these efforts proved to be, the feeling persisted and grew that more intensive and fundamentally more drastic approaches were needed. Indeed, the very success of these efforts cried out for a re-examination of the most fundamental tenets upon which our school and teacher education programs are based.

Let me attempt to set down some of the principles that emerged, and follow them with an account of the specific programs that resulted, and conclude with some future plans and hopes toward which we are striving. Basic to all teaching is the requirement that the teacher understand his pupil. This requirement extends beyond the classroom, for the behavior of each pupil is determined not alone by the social and psychological environment of the classroom but by what he is as a product of his own innate makeup and his interacting environment both in and out of school. The teacher, therefore, must understand his pupil and the social and familial forces that produced him and are continually shaping his development. Stated more simply, the teacher must know and understand the child, his family and his community in order to guide his development during school hours. While this principle may seem self-evident, (although there are those who still dispute it, preferring to place the thing learned above and apart from the learner) it becomes most crucial when the teacher is himself not a member of the social, economic and ethnic level of his students, and therefore cannot use his own experience of growing up and living as a basis for understanding and communicating with his students. The fact

is undeniable that the students enrolled in the teacher education programs of City University, and I suspect of other urban universities as well, are largely not of the socio-economic and ethnic levels of the children that they will be teaching. And the minority that are those favored few of the disadvantaged who were able to qualify for higher education, will certainly not continue to dwell in the communities that spawned them, and will join their middle class colleagues in middle class communities with middle class standards of living, behavior and values. It follows then that the teachers of the disadvantaged will not live in the community that they serve and will by that circumstance be hindered in understanding the forces that determine the behavior of the children they are expected to teach. We are faced therefore with a phenomenon just recently emerged in our society - the progressive social psychological, and ethical alienation of the teacher from the community he is expected to serve. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that the teacher who is a product of middle class society prefers to teach in the middle class suburbs, and that the increasingly rare teacher who is a product of the lower classes prefers to teach in these very same middle class suburbs which are the focus of his personal aspirations.

Concurrently with this alienation of the teacher from the community of the disadvantaged, there has developed a corresponding alienation of the school curriculum and its procedures from the nationally distributed and mass-produced textbooks which dominate so much of our school practice will reveal a substance and a flavor that is predominantly middle-class, suburban, and almost exclusively white and, for want of a better term, Anglo-Saxon. A recent immigrant from Puerto Rico, or from the deep South, representative of the majority that now people the slum areas of New York City for example, will have a most difficult time even recognizing, let alone empathising with those well-dressed boys and girls and their comfortably situated parents and neighbors that make up the casts of characters in most of our basal readers. A curriculum must begin where the learner is and bring him to a point where he should be. It must communicate with and be pertinent to the learner. It has no existence apart from its effects on the learner, and by learner is meant not that mythical abstraction with a capital "L", but the specific, most tragically specific child who lives on 120th Street in Manhattan, sharing sub-standard lodgings with many more siblings and adults than even the most lenient residential standards should allow; the adolescent whom poverty and racial discrimination have catapulted prematurely into a responsibility-burdened and satisfaction-deprived adulthood; the child of a rural, semi-tropical physically benign climate who finds himself a cold, hungry stranger in a threatening urban neighborhood in which the very language of the school is alien. These are all specifics that do not fit the generalizations for which our curriculum and textbooks have been created. And these are not a small minority by any means. In New York City, they represent the majority of the public school population in the older, inner sections of the City, and increasingly of the older suburban outskirts as well.

The problem therefore becomes inescapably one of basing the work of the school in all of its manifestations, - curricular, methodological, atmospheric, upon functional understanding of the population and the community it is expected to serve, and the use of the school as a conscious instrument in effecting the maximal development of each child entrusted in its care, and by extension, the improvement of the community level as well.

In this task the school cannot stand alone. It must ally itself with all available social forces and institutions within the community that have common goals. In fact, one of the major difficulties of many schools in meeting this challenge has been their tendency to isolate themselves from the very forces in the community that could help them. Since the teacher is not of the community he serves, he tends not to know of the services with which he should make a common cause - the religious congregations, the social welfare services, the community leadership, the economic power structure, the local newspapers, the youth courts, etc. It is safe to say that the average teacher in a disadvantaged community does not know of, and has never met, the local minister who is striving against great odds to influence the very youngster who is such a great behavior problem in his English class. To what extent does the social worker even know the name, let alone the identity, of the teacher whose charges he shares? It becomes then not a problem of the school alone, but of the entire community and the coordination of all forces within the community toward common goals.

Such realization of the necessity for the coordination of forces does not, however, remove from each agency the necessity of taking the initiative within its own immediate sphere. Master plans rarely precede action, rather it is from the lessons learned from specific actions that larger plans emerge. Therefore, three specific actions will now be described, much in the manner of case studies, illustrating ways in which one urban university is attempting to focus on the improvement of the disadvantaged through 1) teacher education, 2) curriculum development, and 3) means of student appraisal.

I. Teacher Education

A. Project 120

This project, named for the junior high school in Harlem which was its first base of operations, is a highly pragmatic student teaching program which focuses all its efforts on the realistic preparation of young teachers for service in specific schools. /In the conventional student teaching program, the student rarely, if ever, receives his first full-time teaching appointment in the school in which he served his apprenticeship./ Teacher education institutions prefer to assign student teachers to schools in which they can observe the "best" teaching and make their first attempts at teaching under the supervision of

"master" teachers and with classes that are already exemplars of good classroom management and contain a minimum of "difficult" students. As a result, the tendency has been to utilize less and less for this purpose the disadvantaged school with its large corps of temporary itinerant teachers, and its behavior problems, in favor of the silk stocking school with its stable staff and comparatively good student motivation. Since the teaching vacancies are predominantly in disadvantaged areas of our cities, many young teachers trained for the silk stocking rather than the blue denim set either decline appointment to these schools and flee to the more familiar and "safer" middle class suburbs, or after accepting appointment find themselves in frustrating, threatening, and unhappy professional circumstances for which they were not prepared, and either flee the profession or find a mean level of bitter marginal competence that degrades themselves, the profession, and helps their students not at all.

In Project 120, instead, we attempted to discover what would happen if we used as student teaching centers not those schools that would best approximate optimum training and demonstration conditions, but those that had the largest number of vacancies on their staffs, and if we focused student teaching not so much on what could be generalized from the laboratory experience in a "good" school, but on specific preparation for a specific school, a specific student body, and a specific community.

In brief, the project was developed along the following lines:

1. Several junior high schools were "adopted" as teacher education centers because they exhibited the following characteristics to a significant degree:

   a. they served "depressed" areas characterized by a high rate of delinquency and a large proportion (as high as 75%) of families on home relief;

   b. they had large numbers of vacancies on the professional staff;

   c. they had a long-standing record of teacher-turnover and great difficulty in recruiting teachers to vacancies;

   d. their administrative staff was willing and able to cooperate with Hunter College in a new venture.

2. The Bureau of Appointments of the Board of Education and the Associate Superintendent in charge of junior high schools guaranteed placement in the specific vacancies for which the student teachers were being trained, provided that the student teachers upon successful completion of their training passed the required examination administered by the Board of Examiners.

3. Volunteers among the student teaching candidates were recruited each semester from among the large number registered with the understanding that,

a. each student would have free choice at the end of his student teaching service in requesting appointment to the school in which he was trained, and if he preferred not to request such assignment he would be allowed to do so without prejudice;

b. he would receive a much more intensive training than is usual in order to prepare him for service in the school of his assignment.

4. The training program developed for the project embodies the following features:

a. the usual supervision (five teaching visits plus group and individual conferences) by college subject-matter specialists;

b. specific day-to-day assistance and consultation by a member of the college staff who spends much of his time at each of the schools on a regular basis, is available to the student teachers when he is needed, is a frequent visitor to the classrooms, and provides liaison with the school staff in privding as full an experience as possible on all facets of the school program;

c. visits to the community by the student teaching corps together with associated group and individual conferences organized by a sociologist-psychologist who is intimately familiar with the community resources of the area-the social agencies, the law enforcement agencies, religious bodies, newspaper offices, places of amusement and recreation, etc.

d. maximal teaching experience in the schools for each student within the limitations of his college programs. (All student teachers teach at least one class on a regular basis after an initial period of observation, they may receive opportunities far beyond this level).

After three years of operation, the results of this pilot project are most dramatic; eighty percent of the student teachers are now teaching in the schools for which they were trained, and none has left either the school or the profession. Of the remaining twenty percent, about half, though quite successful and willing to stay, had to decline appointment or leave for strictly personal reasons-marriage and the responsibilities of family life being the major reason-and but ten

percent left for reasons which may be classed as professional - either the inability or the lack of desire to cope with the problems of teaching in slum schools. As a result, Project 120 has spread to five additional junior high schools, and the initial small corps of volunteer has grown from the pioneering six in the first semester to two dozen during the spring semester of 1963. In another year, it is expected that the full-time staff of the first junior high school in the project, Junior High School 120, will be composed of graduates of the Hunter project to the extent of more than fifty percent. For the last year, the "veterans" of two years of service have been utilized as "master" teachers for the new crop of student teachers, and most of them are enrolled in City University graduate teacher education programs where they provide a continuing resource for the vitalizing and making pertinent of much of the in-service teacher education offered at Hunter.

For the coming year, the project will be extended to elementary schools, and to additional junior high schools in other disadvantaged sections of the inner city.

Because of the functional and pragmatic nature of the project, and because of its extraordinary commitment of both assigned and volunteer college and school staff time, little has been undertaken to analyze systematically the factors contributing to its success. Such questions as What kinds of students do best in this kind of program? What experiences are of most worth? have not been analyzed in ways that would satisfy a research analyst. There are however certain convictions shared by students and faculty alike, unproved though they may be within the conventions held dear by educational research specialists, but borne out by the results thus far achieved, that should be mentioned. Of these, the most significant is probably the pervading force of student commitment. Only volunteers are used; it becomes a matter of personal investment to make good. And in addition, one suspects that the voluntary nature of the project provides its own screening process. No student at Hunter need worry about being placed in a teaching position upon graduation; the number of vacancies seeking graduates has for years outstripped the supply. The volunteers for the project are therefore less motivated by the necessity of ensuring job placement, than by less mercenary and one suspects more idealistic considerations. It is tempting to classify these volunteers within the same kind of humankind that represents the best among the Peace Corps volunteers. As far as the program itself is concerned, three features are most often cited by students and faculty. First, the intensification of the student teaching experience itself. Project students certainly get the chance to teach more, get more direct supervision, and become more intimately identified with the school than is the rule in the best of conventional student teaching assignments. Second, and this is a major cause of the first, the school feels a much greater commitment to the training of the student teacher knowing that he will be a full-time teacher in the school the following semester, and the student's acceptance of and commitment to the training is sharpened by the realization that he will be teaching these

Third, the community orientation program built into the project helps the student teacher to a more founditional understanding of the characteristics and motivations of his students.

The most far-reading result of the project, however, has probably been the shortcomings it has revealed in conventional programs of teacher education and in the stimuluc it has provided, at Hunter at any rate, for a wide variety of studies and projects all attacking adjacent phases of the central problem, the preparation of teachers for urban service.

In the planning stage are a series of in-service seminars for teachers in disadvantaged areas which will carry further some of the studies begun in the student teaching project. These will be in three major areas: 1. a more intensified study of the community and its people, problems, and services; 2. a highly practical curriculum workshop in which the teacher will receive assistance in preparing materials suitable for his own classes; and 3. a workshop in human relations that will assist the teacher to come to terms with his own prejudices, familiarize him with the customs, values, and personal problems of the people he will be working with, and assist him in finding his proper place as a teacher and guide of the children entrusted to his care. It is hoped that arrangements can be made with the schools to have these in-service seminars made a part of the teacher's regular day, rather than an added responsibility, undertaken on an overtime basis after a long, physically and emotionally taxing tour of full-time duty in a slum school. Significantly enough, the major stimulus for these planned seminars has been the prodding of graduates of the 120 Project, who feel that the features of the student teaching program need further intensification at the in-service level during the first years of a young teacher's service, lest the beginnings that have been achieved are lost by the pressure of the teacher's everyday responsibilities unrelieved by additional professional and personal assistance.

B. Curriculum Study Center for Teacher Education

More fundamentally, however, the experience gained has led inevitably to the need to re-examine the entire process of teacher education itself, for the suspicion that the curriculum and practices of teacher education have lagged fatally behind the requirements of a rapidly changing urban society has become a most disturbing conviction. Accordingly, with the assistance of funds granted by the President's Committee on Delinquency and Youth Crime, a curriculum study center for teacher education has been established at Hunter.

This Center is attempting to use the combined resources of sociologists, social psychologists, psychologists, curriculum experts, and practicing schoolmen to investigate the content of teacher education itself for its pertinence to service in urban and particularly disadvantaged school areas. Now in its first year, the project is attempting, by survey of the literature and of research, by school and class-

room visits, by consultations with teachers, administrators, social welfare and community service personnel, and community leaders, to discover and if necessary produce study materials and suggestions for training activities that will produce teachers better prepared for urban service. Through the cooperation of local superintendents of schools, the hospitality of schools and classrooms is being provided for the professional staff of the Center. Study institutes with expert consultants from universities, school systems, and the community are focusing on such problems as the social factors in learning, the social and ethnic concomitants of classroom behavior. Finally, the materials and procedures growing out of these studies will be tried out in the pre- and in-service programs at Hunter and other units of City University of New York before they are made available in published form to the profession at large.

II. Project English

A curriculum, to be effective, must provide contact with the learner; its pertinence to the learner must be felt by him if it is to have any influence at all in directing his development. There is inescapable evidence, however, that this pertinence and communicability to the learner of curriculum materials, an ever present problem in all school situations, is least realized among disadvantaged and culturally and ethnically "different" school populations. And in no curriculum area is this shortcoming more dramatically demonstrable than in reading and the language arts. The cast of characters of our basal readers, for example, is predominantly white, suburban, comfortably situated, exhibiting behavior, customs, and language as foreign to the slum child as any fairy tale, yet it is expected to represent fact and not fancy. Similarly, the very milieu of the disadvantaged child presents conditions that must be taken into account in the very motivations and procedures used to develop reading skills, for example. A home in which books, magazines, and newspapers are a part of the setting for growing up has implications for the school quite different from the home in which reading is not an accepted part of the milieu. It is no accident that reading retardation is a standard characteristic of disadvantaged school populations.

Project English at Hunter College, therefore, has been established as a curriculum study center for the language arts. It is the only one of the eight such centers set up at this writing through grants of the U. S. Office of Education that is focused entirely on the needs of the disadvantaged, particularly those of the upper elementary and junior high school ages. Now in the first year of its five year grant, the center is engaged in a survey of existing language arts texts and syllabi to ascertain their appropriateness for the "life styles" of the children and adolescents in our disadvantaged urban areas. Hopefully, the project will ultimately be of some help not only in finding out but in building curriculum materials and teaching guides for reading, listening, and related language arts activities. In addition, it

is planned to develop demonstration lessons on videotape and kinescope film using recommended materials and procedures, and finally, to secure appropriate trial and evaluation of whatever is produced and suggested by use in the classrooms of cooperating teachers. Here, too, as with the curriculum study center for teacher education, the combined resources of sociologists, social psychologists, psychologists, curriculum specialists, and teachers in service will be utilized in all phases of the project.

III. Student Appraisal

Standard tests of intelligence when applied to disadvantaged populations have consistently revealed significantly lower norms than for the more favored populations. The average I.Q. in a slum school is inevitably lower than in a suburban, middle class school. Since by these measures one is expecting to ascertain native capacities, the low scores achieved by the average disadvantaged child determine to some extent his entire future career in school and in later life. There would be no objection to this practice if one were reasonably certain that existing measures are indeed measures of native ability unskewed by environmental factors. That this is not the case by any means has long been suspected. To what extent, using existing measures of intelligence, then, are the results achieved contaminated by social class and ethnic factors, and are not therefore proper measures of native ability?

Several years ago, under a U. S. Office of Education grant, a Hunter College research team (Davis, French, Lesser and others) produced promising measures (the Hunter Aptitude Scales for Gifted Children) that attempted to broaden the basis of aptitude measurement to include not only verbal reasoning, but such elements as space conceptualization, and number ability. These scales are now being used, under a current U. S. Office of Education grant, as a basis for determining ethnic and social class factors in the measurement of these aptitudes. The scales are being modified to "fit" four ethnic groups- the Negro, the Puerto Rican, the Chinese, and the Jewish. One hundred first-grade children for each group - half from lower and half from middle socio-economic levels - are being tested. At the conclusion of the testing program, it is hoped to admit the most promising from each group, in equal numbers, to form a special second grade in the Hunter College Elementary School, a school for the gifted administered by the teacher education program of Hunter College, for several years of further study and curricular experimentation.

Ultimately, it is hoped, we will be able to show the way to producing tests of mental ability that are culturally fair to the various ethnic groups, particularly those in the lower socio-economic levels, and therefore provide a better basis for guiding the careers of

children from these groups.

These then are the current special programs which it is hoped will shed some light on the contributions a University teacher education program can make to three aspects of our growing urban problems: 1) the training of teachers; 2) the curriculum of the schools; and 3) the appraisal of student abilities.

They are but beginnings, but they do represent tangible results of the commitment of one urban institution to make the problems of urban schools serving disadvantaged populations a core of training, study, and research.

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